W. Lloyd Garrison

Liverpool, August 3, 1840.

Esteemed Friend:

S-4 At your request, I sit down to give you my opinion as to the prospect of the speedy and peaceable overthrow of slavery in the United States. Let me say, then —

1. That Christianity sanctions the use of nothing but moral and religious means and measures for the suppression of any sin, or the overthrow of any system of iniquity — in other words, it forbids the doing of evil that good may come, however vast the good to be achieved, or small the evil to be resorted to for its accomplishment. To bring the products of free labor into competition with those of slave labor, and thus secure the abolition of slavery and the slave trade throughout the world, is a peaceable, legitimate and Christian measure, which commends itself to the approval of all good men.

2. That ~~though truth is mighty, and must ultimately prevail~~ there is not any instance recorded, either in sacred or profane history, in which the oppressors and enslavers of mankind, except in individual cases, have been induced, by mere moral suasion, to surrender their despotic power, and let the oppressed go free; but, in nearly every instance, from the time that Pharaoh and his hosts were drowned in the Red Sea, down to the present day, they have persisted in their evil course until sudden destruction came upon them, or they were compelled to surrender their ill-gotten power in some other manner.

3. That the emancipation of the eight hundred thousand bondmen in the British West India Colonies forms no excep-

tion to this lamentable truth — as it was effected by the colossal power of the mother country, and in opposition to the feelings and wishes of the West India planters. That power, it is true, was stirred up by the moral and religious action of the people of England; but, had the liberation of the West India slaves depended upon the triumph of moral suasion in the colonies over the depravity of the planters, there is not the slightest probability that it would have taken place. Indeed, it is certain that the planters would never have allowed any anti-slavery agitation among them. The mere suspicion, a few years since, that the Wesleyan and Baptist missionaries sympathized with the slave population, and were hostile to slavery, raised such a tempest of fury against them, that their chapels were ruthlessly destroyed, and they were either cast into prison, or compelled to flee for their lives. The slaveholding power, wherever it holds absolute sway, will never tolerate any movement for its overthrow. There is, therefore, no liberty of speech or of the press in the slave States of America, and, consequently, no chance for the exercise of moral influence against slavery in that section of the country.

4. That, of all oppressors and tyrants who have cursed and afflicted mankind, none have ever equalled the enslavers of the colored race, — especially American republican slaveholders, — in ferociousness of spirit, moral turpitude of character, and desperate depravity of heart. I regard their conversion, as a body, to the side of bleeding humanity, by appeals to their understandings, consciences, and hearts, about as hopeless as any attempt to transform wolves and hyenas into lambs and doves, by the same

process. Their understandings have become brutish, their consciences seared as with a hot iron, and their hearts harder than adamant.

5. That nothing will induce them to manumit their slaves but an utter inability to compete with the labor of freemen, in raising those productions which now give life and sustenance to the slave system; in connection with a rectified public sentiment, that shall every where regard them as the deadliest enemies of the human race.

6. That it is by the cultivation of cotton alone, and the purchase of that article by British manufacturers, that American slavery puts at defiance the opinions of the civilized world, baffles the efforts of the abolitionists of England and America for its speedy overthrow, and raises an impenetrable wall of defence against the attacks of its enemies.

7. That if England would supply herself with free cotton from some other part of the world, to the exclusion of all slave grown cotton, it is quite certain that, within seven years, American slavery would be peaceably abolished, from absolute necessity, as well as from the moral change which will by that time have been wrought in the free States of America, in opposition to that hideous system of plunder and outrage.

8. That it now seems to be placed beyond all doubt, that cotton can be grown by free labor at a much less expense, and in far greater abundance, in British India, than it is now done by slave labor in the United States: hence, that England, as a matter of self-interest, as well as on the score of humanity,

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should without delay redress the wrongs of India, give protection and encouragement to ~~her~~ its oppressed and suffering population, and thus obtain a cheap, permanent and abundant supply of free cotton from her own vast and fertile possessions in the East.

I am sure that your British India movement will fill the hearts of American slaveholders with dismay. May speedy and complete success attend it! — I see no reason why it should not receive the zealous and hearty support of the friends of humanity in Great Britain, especially of all genuine abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic. For all that you are doing to promote it, (and no man can be doing more,) and for all your previous efforts in the cause of West India emancipation, I honor and praise you. Be not weary in well-doing, and you cannot fail of success. The case is one of great urgency. Let no time be lost, therefore, in laying all the facts respecting India before the people. Those facts can never be listened to with indifference by them, but will cause their hearts to burn like fire. They will rally en masse under the broad banner of universal emancipation, and their motto will be — "Justice for India! Freedom for the American slave! Prosperity to England! Good will to all mankind!"

I remain, dear sir, with the highest respect,
Your faithful friend and coadjutor,
Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

Joseph Pease.